SECRET
62/GS/CP

Country Profile

Malagasy Republic

August 1973

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

SECRET

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY PUBLICATIONS

The basic unit of the NIS is the *General Survey*, which is now published in a bound-by-chapter format so that topics of greater perishability can be updated on an individual basis. These chapters—Country Profile, The Society, Government and Politics, The Economy, Military Geography, Transportation and Telecommunications, Armed Forces, Science, and Intelligence and Security, provide the primary NIS coverage. Some chapters, particularly Science and Intelligence and Security, that are not pertinent to all countries, are produced selectively. For small countries requiring only minimal NIS treatment, the *General Survey* coverage may be bound into one volume.

Supplementing the *General Survey* is the NIS *Basic Intelligence Factbook*, a ready reference publication that semiannually updates key statistical data found in the Survey. An unclassified edition of the factbook omits some details on the economy, the defense forces, and the intelligence and security organizations.

Although detailed sections on many topics were part of the NIS Program, production of these sections has been phased out. Those previously produced will continue to be available as long as the major portion of the study is considered valid.

A quarterly listing of all active NIS units is published in the *Inventory of Available NIS Publications*, which is also bound into the concurrent classified Factbook. The Inventory lists all NIS units by area name and number and includes classification and date of issue; it thus facilitates the ordering of NIS units as well as their filing, cataloging, and utilization.

Initial dissemination, additional copies of NIS units, or separate chapters of the *General Surveys* can be obtained directly or through liaison channels from the Central Intelligence Agency.

The *General Survey* is prepared for the NIS by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency under the general direction of the NIS Committee. It is coordinated, edited, published, and disseminated by the Central Intelligence Agency.

WARNING

The NIS is National Intelligence and may not be released or shown to representatives of any foreign government or international body except by specific authorization of the Director of Central Intelligence in accordance with the provisions of National Security Council Intelligence Directive No. 1.

For NIS containing unclassified material, however, the portions so marked may be made available for official purposes to foreign nationals and nongovernment personnel provided no attribution is made to National Intelligence or the National Intelligence Survey.

Subsections and graphics are individually classified according to content. Classification/control designations are:

(U/OU) . . Unclassified/For Official Use Only
(C) . . . . . Confidential
(S) . . . . . Secret

GENERAL SURVEY CHAPTERS

COUNTRY PROFILE Integrated perspective of the subject country • Chronology • Area Brief • Summary Map

THE SOCIETY Social structure • Population • Living and working conditions • Religion • Education • Artistic expression • Public information

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS Political evolution of the state • Governmental strength and stability • Structure and function • Political dynamics • National policies • Threats to stability • The police • Intelligence and security • Countersubversive measures and capabilities

THE ECONOMY Appraisal of the economy • Its structure—agriculture, fisheries, forestry, fuels and power, metals and minerals, manufacturing and construction • Domestic trade • Economic policy and development • Manpower • International economic relations

TRANSPORTATION AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS Appraisal of systems • Strategic mobility • Railroads • Highways • Inland waterways • Ports • Merchant marine • Civil air • Airfields • Telecommunications

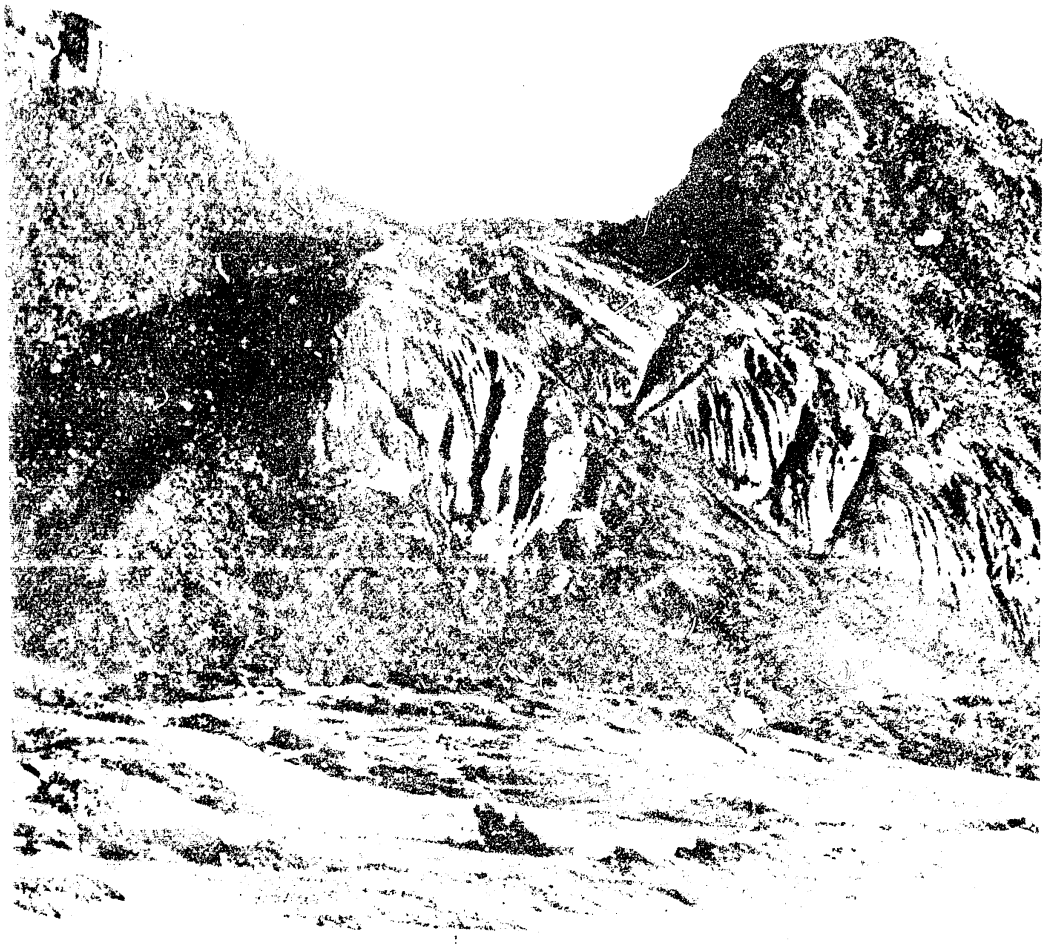
MILITARY GEOGRAPHY Topography and climate • Military geographic regions • Strategic areas • Internal routes • Approaches: sea, air

ARMED FORCES The defense establishment • Joint activities • Army • Navy • Air force • Paramilitary

Country Profile: Malagasy Republic

This Country Profile was prepared for the NIS by the Central Intelligence Agency. Research was substantially completed by April 1973.

SECRET



The Island Anomaly

The tropical Indian Ocean island of Madagascar, whose political name is the Malagasy Republic, is an anomaly in many ways. On the map the huge island looks like a fragment of Africa; yet its relationship to the continent is remote, and it has developed in isolation into a land different from any other. Strange plants and animals found there exist nowhere else on earth, and even the people differ from those of Africa. The tribal cultures appear much more Asian, and in fact the people are descendants of Malayo-Polynesians who crossed the Indian Ocean in outrigger canoes before historic times. Later relationships—with maritime peoples like the Arabs, French, and British; with immigrant groups from China, India, and Reunion and Comoro Islands; and with the many slaves brought in from Africa—all have helped shape the culture of Madagascar. (U/OU)

Malagasy society is superficially homogeneous; all 18 tribes share the same basic culture and speak dialects of the same language—conditions that might seem ideal for the development of a unified society. Beneath this surface homogeneity, however, there are distinct differences between the important Merina tribe of the highlands and the coastal tribes. These two groups have developed a keen sense of separate indentity, and animosity rather than cooperation has characterized their relations. Although all the Malagasy people speak closely related dialects, the differences in dialect seem as exasperating to the islanders as if there were differences of language. The people vary in physical appearance from Malaysian to African, and their customs differ considerably from one locality to another. The island—almost as large as Texas—includes a number of major ecological regions, each with its own climate and way of life: life in the cool central highlands is quite different from that of the tropical rain forests of the east coast or the "tropical paradise" of the isle of Nosy Be and adjacent coast, where the traveler might imagine himself in a particularly beautiful corner of Polynesia. (U/OU)

Since June 1960 the Malagasy Republic has been an independent nation, and, in spite of sharp ethnic conflicts, the country until 1972 was relatively stable. From 1895 to 1960 the country was a French colony, but before the French came Madagascar already had a dynamic civilization headed by an aggressive minority, the Merina. Under French rule, the Malagasy people adopted parts of the French culture, but without fundamentally altering their own culture. With independence there was a chance they could begin in earnest their own slow progress toward a Malagasy identity and unity that would override their longstanding religious, economic, and social differences. Ethnic conflicts and the problem of controlling French economic interests in Madagascar were not solved, however, and various groups are now pressing for radical changes, many of which would further exacerbate tribal hostilities. The Malagasy Republic Government is seeking policies that will calm tribal passions and deal with the conflicting demands for reform. (U/OU)

Who Are These People? (u/ou)

The first Malayo-Polynesian immigrants came to Madagascar possibly as early as the beginning of the Christian era and probably found no earlier inhabitants. Some of the pioneers may have come via the east coast of Africa—arriving finally with African women and produce in their outsize canoes. After A.D. 900, when the Arabs became the dominant maritime power on the Indian Ocean, they established settlements on the coasts of Madagascar and brought in Bantu slaves as farm labor and as merchandise. From then on until the late 19th century, major activities around the coasts were the sale of Africans and the purchase of islanders (prisoners taken in tribal wars).

In appearance the people range from Malayo-Polynesian types who would be at home in Indonesia to Bantu types of black Africa; the majority have traits of both. The coastal tribes now tend to be Negroid in appearance, whereas the highland people, particularly of the upper classes, tend to be of the Malaysian type and have rigid taboos against marriage with anyone of slave descent. The early African arrivals adopted Malagasy, a language which belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock but which has words added from Arabic, Swahili, French, English, and other languages. Only the recent immigrants from the Comoro Islands now speak African dialects.

The traditional Malagasy religion has neither priests nor temples, but its sway over the people's lives is almost absolute. It involves the individual in a lifetime of constant appeasement of the spirits of his ancestors (as well as of a multitude of nature spirits). To the Malagasy people, the most potent spirits are those of their immediate forebears, who are felt to concern themselves constantly and intimately with family affairs. The family tomb is the most sacred of all hallowed places, and the head of the family or clan is understood to have special responsibility as intermediary between the living and the dead. A particularly important ceremony, known as the *famadihana*, brings family members home to participate even if they have jobs hundreds of miles away. In this ceremony the family takes its corpses from the tomb, washes them, and redothes them in fresh shrouds. The occasion is one for dancing, singing, feasting, and general gaiety, and relatives take home pieces of the old shrouds as good luck symbols.

The animistic Malagasy religion affects every aspect of life, and even the Christianized and Western-educated members of the community are likely to call on the augur, or diviner, to fix the date for a marriage, for beginning a new venture, for moving into a house, and for all sorts of advice. Respect for the spiritual imperatives is enforced by taboos. Transgression of the taboos is thought to expose an individual to the spirits' vengeance, which could take the form of the loss of crops and cattle, serious illness, and even death. These powerful convictions impel the Malagasy people to shun innovations and to live as nearly as possible as their forebears have done. The basic social bond is the right to be buried in the family tomb, and the worst possible punishment is to be denied it. The best way to escape harm and to conform to the innumerable rules that govern all aspects of Malagasy life is to avoid the new and the unknown.

Except for the longstanding friction between the aggressive highland tribe, the Merina, and the rest of the tribes (often referred to collectively as the *cotiers*, or coastal tribes), the Malagasy people are noted for their friendliness to fellow tribesmen and to strangers. They tend to treat all strangers—whose innate power for evil is an unknown quantity—with respect, and thus foreigners find themselves treated with courteous caution anywhere on the island. The villager's wants, like his forefather's, are few and easily satisfied—enough land to grow the family's rice and a place for the family tomb, plus a few head of cattle for various uses, including sacrifice. Extra work is justified at times to obtain a special item, such as a bicycle, but most people see little reason to exert themselves all day long every day.

In addition to an estimated 7 million Malagasy natives (there has never been a detailed census of the whole island), at least 100,000 non-Malagasy people live on Madagascar. The largest of these minorities consists of Muslims of African and Arab origin from the nearby Comoro Islands; officially there were 39,000 Comorians on Madagascar in 1970, but unofficial estimates run as high as 100,000. Next in number are the French (including the Reunionese), of whom about 30,000 remain; they have controlled most of the industry, banking, international trade, and plantation agriculture. France is committed by treaty to help with the island's defense, and a detachment of French troops is stationed there. Next in importance among the minorities are the 17,000 Indians (mostly Muslims from what is now Pakistan) and the 20,000 Chinese; these two groups are the shopkeepers and traders of rural Madagascar, except in the Merina-dominated highlands. About a thousand Yemeni and a few hundred Greeks, originally contract labor for the French, have settled on Madagascar.

The Aggressive Minority (u/ou)

"For the coastal peoples, the Merina of the highlands is even more foreign than is the European," from *Le Monde*, 23 January ~~1970~~ 1973, quoting a French anthropologist.

Though all have inherited the same language and basically animistic culture, the Merina are more aggressive and energetic than the *cotiers*. They proudly regard themselves as different, and they have developed many differences in their way of life. In highland valleys, where the climate is much cooler than on the coasts, the Merina have thrived and have become the richest, best educated, and most adaptable of the Malagasy peoples. They have been strongly affected by British Protestantism, whereas the *cotiers* are generally more influenced by Catholicism.

The Merina probably migrated to Madagascar many centuries later than the coastal tribes. Their oral traditions say that, finding no free land along the coast, they moved up to the highlands, where lived only the dark-skinned "Vazimba"—a legendary people with great magical powers. Families that consider themselves to be of pure Merina blood tend to have light bone structure and straight or wavy hair; some have dark skin, which is not itself undesirable, for it may be attributed to a Vazimba princess in the ancestry. Strong caste rules prohibit intermarriage with anyone showing signs of African slave ancestry, as denoted by kinky hair. This prejudice is well known to the *cotiers*, many of whom have kinky hair.

Until late in the 18th century, the Merina kingdom of Tananarive occupied only a small area in the highlands. The Tananarive and other Merina clans, and their neighbors the Betsileo, were notable growers of rice and engineers of irrigation systems. Gradually the kingdom at Tananarive grew to include all the Merina clans and conquered the Betsileo tribe. (Akin to the Merina in appearance, the Betsileo are even more industrious as rice farmers and craftsmen but less able as warriors and administrators.) Then, conscripting labor and building new canals and terraces, with the result that the upland valleys look like something out of Southeast Asia, the Merina unified the highlands.

By 1820 the Merina monarchy ruled much of the island and was an organized political state recognized by both Britain and France. In 1817 the Merina established their first embassy in London, and the British sent a military adviser, Sgt. Hastie, to train the Merina army and equip it with Napoleonic-war surplus weapons, which the Merina used to conquer the island. Western influence has effected Madagascar in many ways since then, but mostly it has altered the Merina. They were changed because—men and women alike—they were eager to absorb and use Western knowledge, and they were molded by British Protestant missionaries and teachers before being conquered by the French.

British missionaries and artisans established primary schools and training programs. The Latin alphabet was adapted to the Merina dialect, a grammar and a Malagasy-English dictionary were compiled, and by 1827 about 4,000 Merina could read and write the Malagasy language. (Until then, Arabs had served as royal scribes, and no Malagasy people could read or write.) The extraordinary surge in education continued. Education to age 16 was compulsory, and in 1885 it was estimated that 85% of the Merina children were attending mission schools, where they were taught in the Malagasy language. Under British guidance artisans were trained by the thousands—tanners, stonecutters, carpenters, leatherworkers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, and printers.

The French were competing with the British for influence among the Merina, and a few Frenchmen were very successful. Probably the most remarkable was a shipwrecked sailor, Jean Laborde, who became a favorite of the Merina Queen and then built an amazing industrial town near Tananarive; however, in 1857 an antiforeign mob destroyed his town, and he was forced to flee the country. The French seemed to lose out completely when Protestantism became the official Merina religion in 1869.

After the opening of the Suez Canal that same year, however, British interest in Madagascar diminished. Without government support the London Missionary Society could not compete with the French Government. In 1885, after a French blockade of the island, a peace treaty empowered the French to install a Resident-General at Tananarive to control Malagasy foreign affairs and represent French trading interests. The Merina controlled internal affairs for another decade, until 20,000 French troops invaded. Resistance was light, and fewer than 50 French soldiers died in battle (although several thousand died of disease). In 1896 a French protectorate exiled the Queen, abolished the institution of royalty, and named Gen. Joseph Gallieni—later to become renowned as savior of Paris in 1914—as the civil and military commander of Madagascar.

To control the dynamic Merina, by far the most advanced of the Malagasy tribes, the French eliminated the Merina civil service and tried to use *cotier* tribesmen in local administrative jobs. The *cotiers* were found not to have the education or skills for such positions, however, and were moving back into the better jobs. By 1960, when French rule ended, the discrepancies between the Merina and the *cotiers* had not been reduced; in some respects they were even greater than they had been in 1896.

Before and after independence, the Merina have shown that it is not easy to keep them down. Only a quarter of the total population, they constitute probably 80% of the doctors, lawyers, teachers, civil servants, and paid workers in general—and this in a country where about 90% of the labor force do not work for wages at all but subsist in the traditional economy of farming and herding. Whatever administration the country has, it will probably have to be run for a long time though the Merina cadre of skilled civil servants and professional people.

Subsistence for the Majority (u/ou)

Coastal village

The Malagasy Republic is one of the world's poor countries, with a lower GDP per capita figure than many African countries, yet there is generally enough to eat. The island is self-sufficient in the essentials—by its present standards—and depends on foreign trade primarily to meet the desires of the small modern sector of society. Nine out of ten people live almost entirely outside the money economy being more or less self-employed at subsistence farming, livestock raising, handicrafts, or fishing. They need money at times for cloth or a bicycle, but they can trade locally for most of what they want. After the harvest, people sometimes drift from the villages to the cities, perhaps with something to sell in the public market, and sometimes they look for a job, but after a short stay most of them go back to their villages.

Among the non-Merina tribes, the adventurous young have a marked taste for travel, but the family tomb and ricefield are magnets that draw them back home; these same forces tend to make permanent emigration acceptable only in terms of a tribal expansion that involves the shift of whole family units. Migration from one rural area to another is much greater than is the movement to the towns. Men of the semiarid south often leave their homeland for seasonal work, and many families have migrated permanently. The expanding tribes of the interior, particularly the Merina and Betsileo, have established new, ethnically homogeneous villages in undeveloped river valleys to the west. There has been little movement, however, by other tribes into the homelands of the Merina and Betsileo.

Ambitious Merina young people are drawn to Tananarive—the nation's capital and only large city (more than 400,000 inhabitants)—in the heart of the Merina homeland. The center of the nation's political and economic life, it attracts many migrants and has a significant unemployment problem. Tananarive has little attraction, however, for non-Merina people.

Madagascar's diverse regions permit different ways of life. Despite an old saying that it has the color and fertility of a red brick, the island has some sizable areas of fertile soil, and because of its diversity of climates and soils, a wide variety of tropical and temperate zone crops can be grown. The most striking aspect of the island is the huge expanse of bare rolling hills and mountains in the interior. The great forests that once covered almost all of Madagascar have been destroyed through the centuries, and forests remain only along the coasts and in scattered groves in the interior. Herders and farmers burn over vast areas every year, because the ashes fertilize the soil and enable them to farm or graze the land for a few seasons. The destruction of vegetation has led to widespread erosion, and the exposed red clay has earned Madagascar its nickname, "the great red island." The government has a strong program for reforestation and tries to prevent the burning, but most of the people regard it as necessary to their way of life.

In the highlands, the Merina and Betsileo have developed agriculture to a relatively high degree. Their highland basins and valleys have a mild, sunny climate with plentiful summer rainfall. They use almost every acre of the valley floors and lower slopes, leveling and terracing to grow irrigated rice as their major crop, plus vegetables, fruits, and coffee during the dry season. They raise poultry, pigs, and a few cattle—usually oxen for plowing and pulling the ox-cart, still the main form of rural transport. Livestock graze on the eroded upper slopes, where meager grass grows after the burning. Near Tananarive there is some dairying, and a modern milk-treatment plant was opened in 1965. In some ways this highland agriculture resembles that of southern Japan, though considerably less productive.

The tropical east coast is an environment that has not yet been mastered. Mountains rise in a sheer wall 50 to 75 miles from the coast, and the rivers tumble and race down to the sea. The inhabitants, mostly of the Betsimisaraka tribe, live in large villages perched above narrow river valleys, raising coffee, various tropical fruits and vegetables, and, in some cases, vanilla and cloves. They grow mountain rice on periodically burned land and use some valley bottoms as irrigated paddy fields. Rain is heavy all year; typhoons hit the coast in late winter, and every 2 or 3 years catastrophic floods wipe out whole villages, cut roads, sweep away irrigated fields, and destroy crops.

Merina highland farmers.

Most of the 10 million cattle on Madagascar are in the western half of the island, where several tribes—especially the Bara, Sakalava, Antandroy, and Mahafaly—center their life around them. The horned and humped zebu cattle are cherished as sacrificial animals, as living capital, and as status symbols. The cattlemen want to own as many as possible, regardless of age, size, or condition. A man's status is displayed by the number of cattle sacrificed at his funeral, and skulls and horns often are placed on the tomb as a permanent record. Because the best specimens—preferably young bulls—are slain at religious and family ceremonies, the herds generally consist of cows and the poorer bulls.

The cattlemen are also haphazard farmers; with each year's rainy season they plant rice and other crops in the valleys, and the young people take the cattle up into the hills for the new grass. They make little effort to avoid overgrazing or to grow fodder for the dry season. In areas where the young unmarried men

traditionally steal cattle from neighboring tribes to prove their manliness, the animals are driven into corrals at night. These overcrowded enclosures are never cleaned, because most tribes do not use manure as fertilizer, and diseases spread rapidly among the undernourished cattle. Probably more than half the calves die during the first year.

Except in the Merina-dominated highlands, the middlemen of rural Madagascar are Chinese in the east and Indians in the west. They run the general stores in the villages, and they buy and sell and trade and lend, for the coastal people have not acquired the taste or experience for commerce. The Chinese and Indians have the patience to permit customers to handle every item in the store before buying perhaps one cigarette, a few lumps of sugar, or a pair of plastic sandals. To make a profit, the village shop must stock small quantities of an endless variety of goods, ranging from foodstuffs to toys and clothing.

The merchants keep a grip on Malagasy families by advancing them goods during the year against a share in the next harvest. In addition, they buy the cash crops—such as coffee, cloves, and vanilla—for sale to export firms. Many storekeepers form part of a chain headed by a wholesale grocer in a larger town who owns a truck. He may control a dozen village storekeepers by a system of advances either in goods or in cash before harvests; their relationship thus resembles that of the storekeeper and the peasant. The government is anxious to control the Asian middlemen but not necessarily to eliminate them, for there is no one to replace them.

Traditionally the country has been considered to be underpopulated, but the near doubling of population in the past 25 years has created patches of overpopulation. Until the end of World War II the high death rate—especially among children—from malaria, tuberculosis, and other diseases made the French despair of ever "developing" the island through its indigenous population. The French even considered mass transfers of people from the Comoro and Reunion islands, in spite of the Malagasy people's extreme dislike of them. After World War II the French began to improve the public health services and to use DDT to combat malaria, which in the past had caused 30% of all deaths. The "problem of underpopulation" was resolved by the spectacular increase in recent decades, but some Malagasy officials still think in the old way and would like to promote further growth. As recently as 1967, President Tsiranana urged every Malagasy family to have 12 children.

The Modern Few (u/ou)

> "There is no doubt that the Malagasy in all parts of the island can almost always procure without appreciable effort what he wants in order to nourish, clothe, and house himself. To leave the native in this condition is to renounce for him all progress, all improvement in his social and economic position. . . ." Quotation from *Neuf Ans a Madagascar*, General Gallieni, 1908, page 272.

The Malagasy elite tend to live like the French. The Malagasy government official, who spent many years working under French officials, regards the perquisites enjoyed by the French as eminently suitable for himself, now that he is an official of the sovereign Malagasy Republic. All the doctors, lawyers, bankers, businessmen, and government officials have risen though the French system. They may still be firmly rooted in the Malagasy culture in some respects, but they tend to consume like Frenchmen.

Each year the small elite group absorbs a greater amount of expensive consumer imports, and, like the French officials in colonial days, they try to pay for it by increasing production for export. However, most of the island's exports must compete in the world market with better quality products at a lower price from other tropical countries that are located nearer the centers of demand, and the government's efforts to increase and improve these products encounter many obstacles, particularly that of Malagasy indifference toward economic progress. Since independence, imports have exceeded exports; in 1971 exports totaled only US$147 million, while imports reached $214 million. Generous foreign aid averaging nearly $50 million per year (mostly from France, the European Community, and the United Nations) has helped offset the annual deficits. The U.S. AID program is concentrated in

livestock, railroads, and communications. AID self-help funds have averaged about $100,000 annually in recent years. In addition, AID contributes about $500,000 per year in supplies to school food programs administered by Catholic Relief Services and takes part in other programs operated by Church World Services and the United Nations World Food Program.

About 85% of Madagascar's exports are agricultural products; minerals (4.5% of exports in 1971), refined petroleum products (4%), and shrimp (3%) follow in importance. Expansion of mineral production seems unlikely unless new deposits turn up. No oil or gas-fields have been found, although foreign companies are prospecting, onshore and offshore. An oil refinery at Tamatave refines enough foreign crude to supply the domestic market and have some left for export. Fishing is not a popular occupation, but the recent expansion of shrimp fishing shows that it has possibilities. The government hopes to develop port and fleet facilities for deep-sea fishing and arouse some interest in it.

Development of modern economy is hindered by the inadequacy of Madagascar's transportation. During the rainy season the regions are essentially isolated from each other except by air or coastal shipping. The most populous and developed areas are in the interior and are linked to the coasts by a few poor roads, two small, obsolete rail lines, and expensive air service. Only intermittent short stretches of the rivers are navigable, and river traffic is negligible. Population centers are far apart, and the cost of maintaining roads through the difficult terrain between them becomes ruinous for a poor country.

Probably the most suitable areas for economic expansion are in agriculture, but here the government planners come up against the resistance of their countryman the Malagasy peasant. His deep and constant fear of offending the omnipresent and omnipotent spirits has intensified his natural peasant conservatism. He is generally unresponsive to the government's efforts to improve his agricultural techniques and equipment, to have him plant different crops, to offer him credit and selected seed, and even to persuade him to register his ownership of land. The planners generally believe that cotton could be valuable for a local textile industry and for export, but decades of effort have brought slow progress. In the Mangoky valley, for example, it proved to be very difficult to persuade the farmers to raise cotton as a cash crop instead of cape peas (lima beans). The cotton was four times as valuable per acre, but the cape peas were easy to grow and left the farmers much leisure time—which they preferred to the extra money.

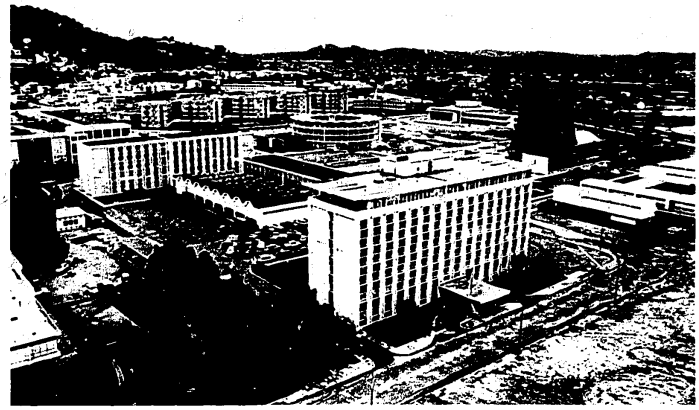
The supply of Malagasy labor to work for wages has never been dependable. Under the Merina monarchy the elite economy was based on slave labor and on forced labor (*corvee*) by freemen. (During the 19th century, freemen were required to work so much for local government officials that slaves, who were not subject to the *corvee*, are said to have refused offers of freedom.) The French could build the island's roads and railroads—such as they are—only by using forced labor, both military and civilian. In their effort to pry loose a little manpower, the French also tried to push people into the money economy by imposing heavy poll taxes, on the theory that the people would have to earn some wages in order to pay the tax. The French found their scheme not very rewarding. Since independence the officials of the Malagasy Republic have continued the effort, but their peasant compatriots are as unresponsive as ever to appeals to work hard and produce.

For the Malagasy young people the path upward into the elite is via the university, usually followed by government service. In this nominally socialist society, most university graduates are absorbed into the large, academically trained civil service. The youth who are interested are usually the children of Westernized parents, who constitute a self-perpetuating group that is developing some of the characteristics of a caste. To give more opportunity to the educated young, all government officials now must retire at age 55.

A Malagasy government agency, the National Investment Company, promotes industrial development, and has established a number of new factories—primarily for textiles, concentrated milk, gelatin, and beer. The government encourages foreign investment but also is pushing the replacement of foreign personnel by Malagasy nationals.

Old ties with France still dominate the modern sector of Madagascar's economy; French companies control most of the industry, plantation agriculture, banking, and international trade, and French products account for more than half of the imports. The French influence is gradually diminishing, however. Until its announced withdrawal in May 1973, Madagascar was a member of the franc zone, and its franc was freely convertible with the French franc. This withdrawal, along with the signing in June 1973 of eight revised accords which generally provided for less extensive cooperation between Madagascar and France, indicate Madagascar's intention to cut back its extensive ties with Paris.

Building A Nation (c)



New government complex in Tananarive.

For two centuries Madagascar has been attempting to achieve unification. The 18th century mosaic of kingdoms has been replaced by a unified political administration, but a national identity is missing. Today's political disunity is derived from the 19th century surge to power of the Merina, and the ensuing crystallization of separate Merina and *cotier* communities was furthered by the additional competition between the British and French. After their conquest and establishment of a colonial government in 1896, the French abolished the Merina government and decreed that all ethnic groups should be governed by their own leaders. They organized schools to educate the illiterate *cotier* tribes, and in the existing schools they replaced Malagasy with French as the classroom language. English mission schools were closed unless they taught in French and conformed to official standards, and tariffs kept out English products. In a latent form English influence survived, however, in the tenacity with which the Merina used Protestantism to express their hostility to the French and their disdain for the Malagasy Catholics.

French hopes of elevating the *cotiers* and keeping down the Merina foundered on the shoals of bureaucracy. Budget cuts in Paris reduced the educational programs in Madagascar, and the French soon realized that the Merina, better educated and more politically experienced than the other groups, made far better bureaucrats. Gradually the highest posts in the civil service that were open to Malagasy people were being filled by Merina. They always worked under French officers, of course, but they nevertheless enjoyed comparatively high status, and their Tananarive was still the capital of the island. Within a decade or two the *cotiers* were once again taking orders from Merina officials, and still hating them. At the same time, most Merina resented being denied access to the top levels of power.

World War II brought an upheaval in ideas and emotions that led to a bloody insurrection in 1947. The British took the island from the Vichy French in 1942, then turned it over to the Free French. A Free French conference at Brazzaville in 1944 proposed drastic reforms in colonial administration, thus encouraging the Malagasy elite to expect that Madagascar would become a fully autonomous state within the French Union. In late 1946 the French granted a new constitution that provided some representative government, but it was not enough to satisfy even the moderate nationalists.

The 1947 uprising began with simultaneous small-scale attacks on French military depots, setting in motion a spontaneous uprising that spread over large areas. Some bands were led by fanatical sorcerers, who gave their followers amulets guaranteed to turn bullets into water and convinced them that their

ancestors wanted them to destroy all agents of change. In the violence which was unleashed, thousands thought to be tinged with Western ideas were murdered, regardless of the color of their skin. The French responded with equal violence in stamping out the rebel bands during the next 18 months.

For the most part, the Merina stayed aloof from the bloody affair, but the French thought they had inspired it and concentrated on removing Merina from the government and grooming *cotier* tribesmen to replace them. These efforts intensified as independence approached. A French-educated *cotier*, Philibert Tsiranana, was chosen head of state, and his Social Democratic Party won an overwhelming victory in the Malagasy Republic's first national election in June 1960. A national gendarmerie, made up of *cotiers*, was established to offset the Malagasy Army, whose officers and men were mostly Merina veterans of the French Army. With French help, the *cotiers* soon monopolized top government jobs. Below them, however, most of the skilled civil servants were still Merina.

The Malagasy Republic's first government, led by President Tsiranana, maintained relative peace and political stability until 1972. In return for French support, including subsidies, the Tsiranana government followed a generally pro-French foreign policy line and allowed French residents to continue to run the country's modern sector. The *cotiers* controlled the government completely and enjoyed the available patronage. The Merina, though excluded from the upper ranks of the administration, were allowed to organize politically; they continued to dominate the professions, and their children continued to monopolize the university student rolls.

The decline and fall of the Tsiranana regime probably began in 1970 with the President's third heart attack, after which he slipped into bizarre behavior patterns and spells of paranoia. In a country where politics has traditionally been conspiratorial, the obsessed Tsiranana saw plots even where none existed and became increasingly authoritarian and bumbling. In June 1971, Tsiranana jailed his Vice President and Interior Minister, Andre Resampa, and requested the departure of U.S. Ambassador Marshall and five other Americans, though no specific charges were leveled at anyone. In 1972 Tsiranana admitted that he had been gulled in this matter and he threatened another witch hunt—to find the false accusers of Resampa and the Americans.

In January 1972 the Tsiranana regime flagrantly manipulated the national elections to win a third 7-year term, but within a few months a change of government had been forced. A minor strike by medical students, which the government tried to suppress, was joined by all of Tananarive's university and secondary school students, who demanded an overhaul of the entire educational system. In May, Tsiranana's special riot police, made up completely of *cotiers*, shot over 40 students, and his threat on radio to "kill thousands more if necessary" brought out the capital's workers and civil servants on general strike. Rioting quickly spread to other cities; both the police (predominantly *cotiers*) and the army (predominantly Merina) stayed out of the fighting and showed obvious sympathy with the demonstrators. When France announced in mid-May that French troops would not intervene, the government agreed to the strikers' demand that Tsiranana be ousted and that Gen. Gabriel Ramanantsoa, a Merina and a respected career soldier, take charge on a caretaker basis.

In a referendum on 8 October 1972, Ramanantsoa won popular approval to rule without a parliament for 5 years. His government rules somewhat more efficiently than its predecessor, has a firm grip on the army and security organizations, has cut government expenses, and has abolished two unpopular taxes—the poll tax and the livestock tax. Acutely aware of *cotier* sensitivity, Ramanantsoa tried to be evenhanded in his appointments to ministerial jobs, appointing only four Merina to his 10-man cabinet. Nevertheless, *cotier* leaders say that most key jobs are held by Merina or their sympathizers, and the view is spreading among the *cotiers* that the Ramanantsoa regime is a government by the Merina.

Tension between the Merina and the *cotiers* continues. During the winter of 1972-73, government reforms designed to reduce French influence in the educational system set off new demonstrations. *Cotier* students saw the reforms as benefiting the Merina. They especially resented efforts to increase the use of the official Malagasy language (Merina dialect) and they wanted Merina teachers replaced by *cotiers*. In December 1972 agitation by *cotier* high school students in Tamatave developed into clashes with Merina students which led to 3 days of intertribal rioting, looting, and burning and ended only when the government declared a state of siege in that major port city. General Ramanantsoa tried to restore calm by a nationwide radio address in which he said he opposed unduly rapid changes in the school system and promised the creation of a new national language synthesizing the major dialects. He faces a serious test, however, in trying to assuage *cotier* fears and at the same time deal with dissatisfaction among radical Merina elements who believe the government is carrying out reforms too slowly.

What Pace Innovation? (s)

The modern world, with its desire for innovation and progress, has touched the island, but its touch has penetrated into the different tribes and layers of society very unevenly. Among the elite it has penetrated deeply, creating the demand for a new Malagasy way of life, for plans and reforms, and for television and French wine. Among the peasants it has penetrated hardly at all. Tananarive still leaves village affairs very largely to the village councils. Seeing no particular use for change, the peasant accepts the dirt and poverty of his village as a part of the virtuous life that provides both material and immaterial necessities. The villager is master of his own time and his own labor, even though at harvesttime he already owes much of his crop to the Asian shopkeeper. He admires those who reach age and respectability by following, with shrewdness but without doubts, the traditional paths. He may appear to acquiesce in government programs (95% in favor in the referendum of 8 October 1972), but acceptance of the *status quo* is part of his tradition, and his acquiescence reveals indifference to faraway matters rather than personal conviction. When his spiritual or tribal security seems threatened, the villager can resist violently.

The government desires to improve the social and economic welfare of the people and is committed to asserting more government control over the economy. Leaders would like to provide the best schools, medical care, roads, and other good things for the people, but they face the problem of where to get the money. Economic planners have wanted to modernize the country's economy through foreign investment that will diversify the economy, generate new exports, and promote domestic production to replace imports, but further developments in this area will depend on the new investment code promised by the Ramanantsoa government.

Farm production could be greatly increased with the wider use of fertilizer and of improved techniques and varieties. The burned-over highlands could be reforested or planted to suitable pasture grasses, and livestock production could be increased manyfold. The World Bank has helped set up demonstration ranches, with Brahmin cattle from the United States, as well as feedlots and slaughterhouses. The future will show whether the Malagasy culture can accept such innovations.

The island of Madagascar has magnificent rivers for harnessing electric power, but electric power today is inadequate and very expensive. Two hydroelectric plants that serve Tananarive and surroundings now provide two-thirds of all the electricity the country has. Foreign aid programs envisage several new power projects. The emphasis in planning is on inexpensive power for industrial sites such as the planned silicon-chrome plant near the Andriamena chromite

mine and the planned cement plant at Antsirabe. Only a few of the people now have access to electricity, but aid programs plan widespread electrification systems.

Of potential value is the island's location between two main sea routes through the Indian Ocean—traffic around the Horn to Asia passes east of the island, and traffic to the Middle East passes west of it. Of most interest is the supertanker route from the Middle Eastern oilfields. This part of the world needs ship repair and drydock facilities, but Madagascar's two existing ports, Tamatave and Majunga, have serious flaws. A proper port could be built at Baie de Narinda, an excellent natural harbor on the northwest coast, but international financing would be needed.

At the same time, the country's population is increasing at the rate of 2.3% per year, and the importation or sale of contraceptive devices is prohibited by law. In rural areas the desire for large families to work the land is still strong, and the feeling remains in some areas that anybody can go out and burn over a few more acres of scrub or shape and terrace another little valley for growing rice. Already, however, population pressures along the east coast and in the highlands indicate the likelihood of serious food shortages in the coming years. The technical ways of bringing about large increases in productivity exist; the major drawback is the attitude of the people.

Unemployment and underemployment are problems. The number of paid jobs has increased only slightly—if at all—during the years of independence, and unemployment is growing. Registered unemployment figures are deceptive; most unemployed do not register but live with other members of the family or go back to the ancestral village. In the labor market, non-Malagasy people work at many middle and upper level jobs. Most of the managers and supervisors are French, while many skilled craftsmen are Reunionese, Yemeni, or other.

Government planners think that the Merina and other Malagasy peoples have demonstrated they can acquire skills and education as quickly as the Japanese or Taiwanese and that the potential exists for development of industries based on high-quality manpower. In fact, the relatively high literacy and the tradition of school attendance—particularly around Tananarive—might provide the basis for rapid development of skill, and the situations are somewhat comparable at Fianarantsoa (the Betsileo capital) and at Tamatave. On-the-job training has been established to upgrade the skills of Malagasy employees. Other training programs involve the teaching of managerial skills to Malagasy entrepreneurs and vocational instruction to those who have never been on a payroll.

The need for changes in the educational system concerns the Malagasy government and the elite group in general. Many Malagasy children attend primary schools, but relatively few have gone on to secondary schools and universities; those who have done so have received a French education. Nationalist feeling demands a system geared to the country's needs and taught in Malagasy, but the *cotiers* are reluctant to abandon French prior to the creation of a revised Malagasy language based on all the dialects.

Free medical care is a basic tenet of the government, and plans have been drawn up for improving public health services, particularly in rural areas. The larger towns have hospitals and clinics, but rural areas have roughly one health station for each 800 square miles. These stations usually are staffed only by a nurse or midwife, with occasional visits from a roving doctor from the public health service. Virtually all water sources are polluted; the only sewage-treatment plant is in Tananarive, and even there most households use latrines or privies. Gastrointestinal disorders are common, affecting people of all ages. Programs to improve health care and sanitation are being carried out with aid from France and agencies of the United Nations.

The Malagasy military forces were closely tied to those of the French until negotiations with France in 1973 significantly changed the Franco-Malagasy defense relationship. Most French forces in the country are to be withdrawn by late 1973, except for a naval detachment at Diego-Suarez,* and the headquarters of the French Forces, South Indian Ocean, will leave Tananarive. It is not likely, however, that French support for Malagasy forces will be cut off completely.

The Ramanantsoa government is reorienting foreign policy as it moves on the path of decolonization and nationalism—more than a decade after the other states that emerged from the breakup of the French colonial empire. Its leaders have shown interest in closer cooperation with the countries of black Africa—an interest which has cost them possible Portuguese investment in the supertanker facility at Baie de Narinda and led them to request the withdrawal of South African investments in tourist facilities at Nosy Be (island). Diplomatic relations have been established with the U.S.S.R., and Foreign Minister Ratsiraka has visited Peking, Pyongyang, and Bucharest. This reorientation does not as yet indicate any real Malagasy interest in Africa or the Communist countries but appears to have been prompted by the government's desire to emphasize its affinity with other recently independent countries as well as to disarm leftist critics at home. Economic interests still tie

*For diacritics on place names see the list of names on the apron of the Summary Map and the map itself.

the island to France and the European Community; a break with them would have serious economic and political consequences.

The U.S. involvement in the Malagasy Republic is slight, and U.S. investments are negligible. More than 20% of the island's total exports are sold to the United States, but none is of strategic interest. Vessels of the U.S. Navy have been calling at Malagasy ports every 2 or 3 months. The large NASA tracking station near Tananarive has been criticized by Malagasy extremists and could be forced to close, although it is highly regarded by the Malagasy Republic Government because it provides jobs and technical training to about 160 Malagasy personnel. The station collects data from unmanned scientific satellites, and it is expected to be important to the U.S. space program until at least 1980.

An unusual dimension is added to any discussion of Malagasy Republic Government policy—whether of economics, of plans, of potential, of foreign policy—by the fact that only 9% of the Malagasy labor force work for money. Any foreigner who wants to deal with the island must bear in mind that the tail (the modern sector) can only fitfully and imperfectly wag the dog.

Chronology (u/ou)

1828

The Merina, largest of some 18 ethnic groups on Madagascar, impose their rule and their language on most of the peoples of the island.

1895

Merina authority collapses in the face of French military conquest.

1904

The last of the resisting non-Merina tribesmen are subdued, and France controls all of Madagascar.

1947
August

French quell nationalist uprising which began in April. Official death toll put at 12,000, with unofficial estimates much higher.

1958
October

Madagascar is proclaimed autonomous Malagasy Republic within French Community.

1959
May

Philibert Tsiranana elected President.

1960
June

Malagasy Republic becomes independent state within French Community. France and Madagascar agree to wide-ranging cooperation agreements.

September

Malagasy Republic becomes member of United Nations.

1966
June

President Tsiranana has heart attack, the first of several serious illnesses.

1967
June

Closing of Suez Canal adds to Malagasy economic difficulties.

1968
July

Malagasy economic delegation visits Republic of South Africa.

1969
August

Tsiranana announces belt-tightening economic measures, including reduction of imports in response to deteriorating economic situation caused partly by earlier devaluation of French currency. Clandestine antiregime tracts appear in Tananarive.

1970
January

Tsiranana flown to France after another heart attack, and he is absent from Madagascar until May.

1971
March

Tsiranana closes University of Madagascar in Tananarive following student strike.

April

Uprising in Tulear Province results in deaths of 30 gendarmes and hundreds of civilians. Monja Jaona and several hundred other members of MONIMA political party imprisoned.

June

Former Interior Minister Andre Resampa arrested as alleged subversive. U.S. Ambassador withdrawn after unsubstantiated Malagasy Republic Government allegations of U.S. involvement with subversives.

October

Malagasy Republic Government announces it has foiled yet another subversive plot, this one led by persons associated with the French research organization ORSTOM.

1972
January

Tsiranana reelected to presidency with over 99% of vote.

May

Inept government response to student strike culminates in over 40 deaths in Tananarive. Pro-student demonstrators force Tsiranana's relegation to figurehead status. Armed forces commander Maj. Gen. Gabriel Ramanantsoa takes charge.

June

Several hundred political prisoners, including Andre Resampa and Monja Jaona, freed.

September

Committee of Protest Organizations, an outgrowth of May demonstrations, holds national convention in Tananarive.

October

Over 80% of voters approve referendum giving Ramanantsoa 5-year rule without a parliament.

December

Communal rioting erupts in port city of Tamatave.

1973
January

Malagasy-French negotiations begin on revision of bilateral military, economic, and cultural accords.

February

Tsiranana makes political trip to northern Madagascar. Disorders erupt in Diego-Suarez, Majunga, and two other localities.

March

Several former high-ranking members of Tsiranana's party arrested on charges of inciting February riots.

May

Foreign Affairs Minister Ratsiraka announces Madagascar's decision to withdraw from the franc zone.

June

Madagascar and France sign wide-ranging accords which reduce France's overall role in Madagascar, provide for evacuation of most French forces by late 1973, but permit continued French use of Diego-Suarez.

Area Brief (u/ou)

LAND

230,000 sq. mi.; 5% cultivated, 58% pastureland, 21% forested, 8% wasteland, 2% rivers and lakes, 6% other

WATER

Limits of territorial waters (claimed): 12 n. mi.

Coastline: 3,000 mi.

PEOPLE

Population: 7,141,000 (est. 1 Jan. 1973); density (est.), 31.5 persons per square mile; 21% urban, 79% rural

Ethnic composition: 18 tribal groups; Merina comprise about 25% of the total; basic ethnic split between the Merina and the *cotiers*.

Religion: Approximately 41% Christian (1.5 million Roman Catholics, 1.3 million Protestants), 7% Muslim; remainder follow traditional religious practices

Languages: Malagasy and French

Literacy: About 45% of the population age 10 and over (1966 estimate)

Health, nutrition, and sanitation levels: Low

GOVERNMENT

Legal name: Malagasy Republic

Type: Republic; military-civilian government established May 1972; given 5-year mandate in popular referendum October 1972

Capital: Tananarive

Political subdivisions: 6 provinces

Legal system: Based on French civil law system and traditional Malagasy law; constitution of 1959 modified in October 1972 by law establishing provisional government institutions; legal education at National School of Law, University of Madagascar, has not accepted compulsory ICJ jurisdiction

Branches: Executive—Gen. Ramanantsoa heads government assisted by cabinet called Council of Ministers; National Popular Development Council created to replace the legislature in October 1972; regular courts are patterned after French system and a High Council of Institutions reviews all legislation to determine its constitutional validity

Government leader: Gen. Gabriel Ramanantsoa

Suffrage: Universal for adults

Elections: Government in October 1972 postponed all political elections indefinitely

Political parties and leaders: Parti Social Democrate (PSD), led by Philibert Tsiranana; Congress Party for the Independence of Madagascar (AKFM), led by Richard Andriamanjato; National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar (MONIMA), led by Monja Jaona; parties are permitted to exist but are barred from positions of political authority because of postponement of elections

Communists: Communist party of virtually no importance; small and vocal group of Communists has gained strong position in leadership of AKFM, the rank and file of which is non-Communist

Member of: EAMA, FAO, IAEA, ICAO, ILO, IMCO, ITU, La Francophonie, OAU, OCAM, Seabeds Committee, U.N., UNESCO, UPU, WHO, WMO

ECONOMY

GDP: $970 million (1971 est.); about $135 per capita; real growth rate 4.5% p.a. 1967–71.

Agriculture: Main cash crops—coffee, cloves, vanilla, rice, and sugar; main food crops—rice, manioc, corn, coco-yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, and pulses.

Major industries: Agricultural processing, light consumer goods, mining, and oil refining

Electric power: 58,000 kw. capacity (1971), 175 million kw.-hr. produced (1971), 25 kw.-hr. per capita

Exports: $147 million (f.o.b. 1971); mainly coffee, cloves, vanilla, rice, sugar, minerals, animals, meat and meat products

Imports: $214 million (f.o.b. 1971); mainly consumer and capital goods, and foodstuffs

Major trade partners: France, United States, EC, and franc zone countries

Aid: Economic—(1970 grants—$41.5 million) France $21.1 million, European Development Fund $11.9 million, United Nations and others $8.5 million; (1970 loans—$8 million) France $6.4 million, World Bank Group, United States, and West Germany $1.6 million

Monetary conversion rate: 255.78 Malagasy francs = US $1 (official) since December 1971; 277 francs = US $1 prior to that date. Member of French franc zone

Fiscal year: Calendar year

COMMUNICATIONS

Railroads: 549 miles of meter-gage line

Highways: 5,300 miles; 1,875 bituminous surfaced, 2,225 crushed stone and gravel, 1,200 earth roads

Inland waterways: 1,200 miles navigable

Ports: 4 major, 13 minor

Civil air: 9 major transports

Airfields: 166 usable; 24 with permanent-surface runways; 3 with runways 8,000–11,999 feet, 49 with runways 4,000–7,999 feet. About 200 sites, 6 seaplane stations

Telecommunications: Extensive open-wire lines, some radio-relay and coaxial cable links, and a communication satellite ground station; 27,000 telephones; 500,000 radio and 5,000 TV receivers; 1 AM, no FM, and 1 TV stations

DEFENSE FORCES

Military manpower: Males 15–49, 1,614,000; 950,000 fit for military service; average number reaching military age (20) annually about 75,000

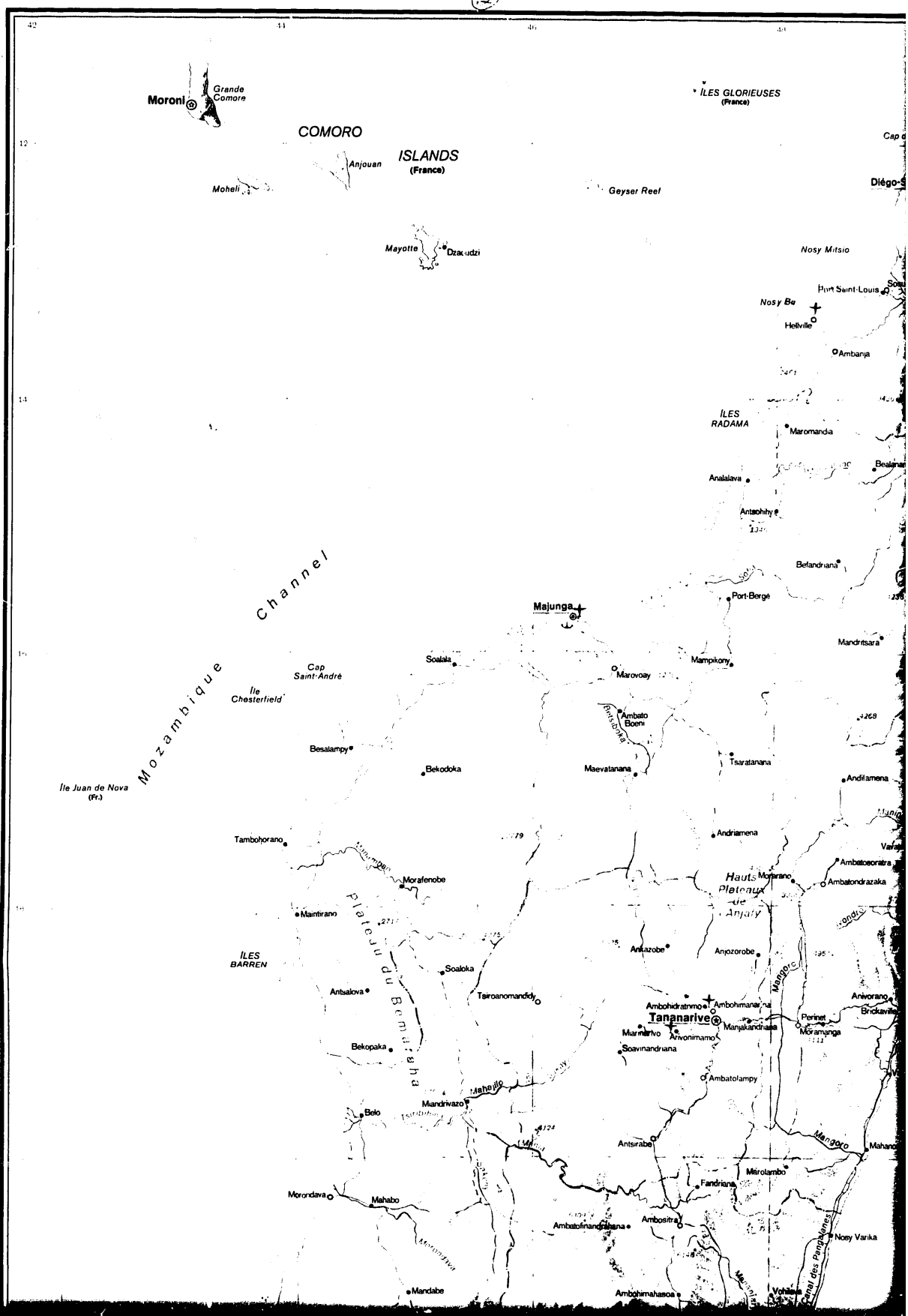
Supply: Largely dependent on France; has received some ground force materiel from Israel and West Germany

Places and features referred to in this General Survey (u/ou)

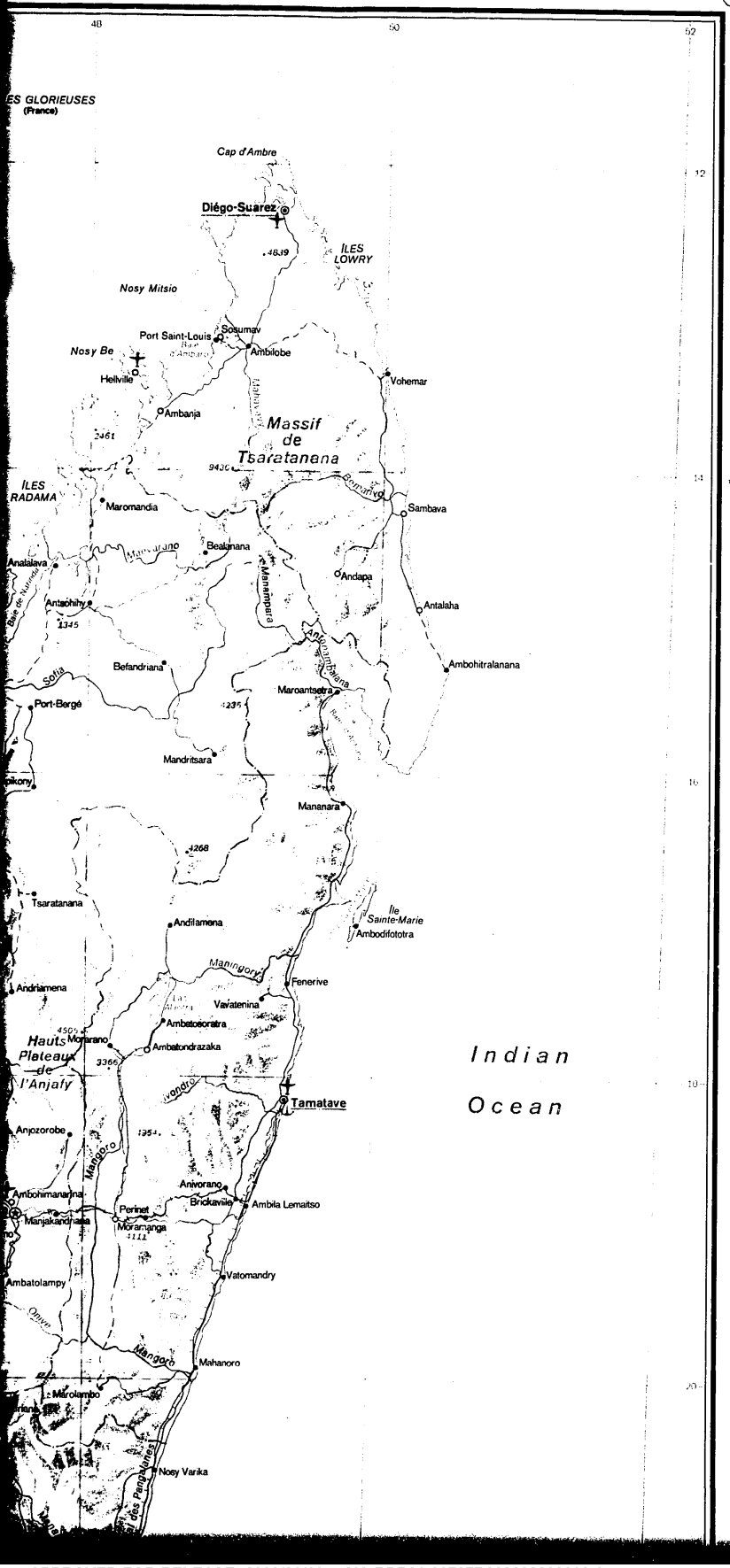
	COORDINATES	
	° 'S.	° 'E.
Alaotra, Lac (*lake*)	17 30	48 30
Ambalanjanakomby	16 42	47 05
Ambanja	13 41	48 27
Ambatofinandrahana	20 33	46 48
Ambatolampy	19 23	47 25
Ambatosoratra	17 37	48 31
Ambatondrazaka	17 50	48 25
Ambila Lemaitso	18 50	49 09
Andravoahangy (*sec of popl place*)	18 53	47 32
Ambositra	20 31	47 15
Ambovombe	25 11	46 05
Amboanio	15 49	46 21
Andapa	14 39	49 39
Andriamena	21 58	47 05
Andringitra (*mts*)	22 20	46 55
Anjafy, Hauts Plateau de l' (*plateau*)	18 00	48 00
Antalaha	14 53	50 16
Antsirabe	19 51	47 02
Arivonimamo	19 01	47 11
Befandriana	15 16	48 32
Belo	19 12	44 33
Be, Nosy (*island*)	13 20	48 15
Betsiboka (*strm*)	16 03	46 36
B.tsimitatatra (*region*)	18 54	47 30
Brickaville	18 49	49 04
Diégo-Suarez	12 16	49 17
Diégo-Suarez, Baie de (*bay*)	12 15	49 20
Farafangana	22 49	47 50
Fenerive	17 22	49 25
Fianarantsoa	21 26	47 05
Fort-Dauphin	25 02	47 00
Ihosy	22 24	46 08
Imerina	20 32	47 22
Isotry (*sec of popl place*)	18 54	47 31
Ivato	20 37	47 12
Le Port, Réunion	20 55	55 18
Mahavavy (*strm*)	13 00	48 55
Mahabo	20 23	44 40
Maintirano	18 03	44 01
Majunga	15 43	46 19
Manakara	22 08	48 01
Mananjary	21 13	48 20
Manantenina	24 17	47 19
Mandraka	18 55	47 56
Mandrare (*strm*)	25 10	46 27
Mangoky (*strm*)	21 29	43 41
Mania (*strm*)	19 42	45 22
Maroantsetra	15 26	49 44
Marovoay	16 06	46 39
Masomeloka	20 17	48 37
Moramanga	18 56	48 12
Morarano	17 46	48 10
Morombe	21 45	43 22
Morondava	20 17	44 17
Mozambique Channel (*channel*)	20 00	43 00
Narinda, Baie de (*bay*)	14 55	47 30
Nord, Passe du (*channel*)	18 04	49 26
Nord-Ouest, Chenal du (*channel*)	15 40	46 13
Orangea, Passe d' (*channel*)	12 14	49 22
Pangalanes, Canal des (*canal*)	22 48	47 50
Pernet	18 56	48 25
Port-Bergé	15 33	47 40
Port Saint-Louis	13 05	48 51
Saint-Denis (*Réunion*)	20 52	55 28
Sainte-Marie, Île (*isl*)	16 50	49 55
Sakaraha	22 55	44 32
Sambava	14 16	50 10
Sofia (*strm*)	15 27	47 23
Tamatave	18 10	49 23
Tananarive	18 55	47 31
Tongobory	23 32	44 20
Tsaratanana, Massif de (*mts*)	14 00	49 00
Tsiribihina (*strm*)	19 42	44 31
Tsiroanomandidy	18 46	46 02
Tulear	23 21	43 40
Vangaindrano	23 21	47 36
Vohemar	13 21	50 01
Vohidiala (*rr sta*)	17 53	48 16

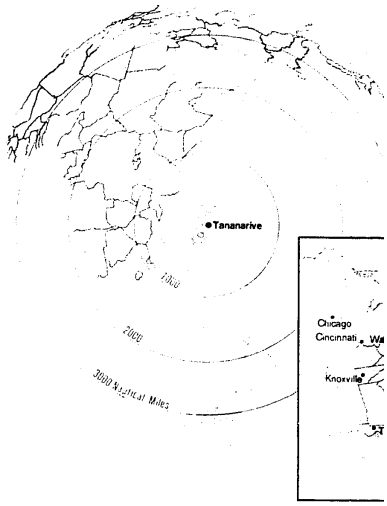
Selected Airfields

Diego Suarez/Andrakaka	12 15	49 15
Fort Dauphin	25 02	46 57
Majunga/Amborovy	15 40	46 21
Nossi Be/Fascene	13 19	48 19
Tamatave	18 07	49 24
Tananarive/Arivonimamo	19 02	47 10
Tananarive/Ivato	18 48	47 29
Tulear	23 23	43 43

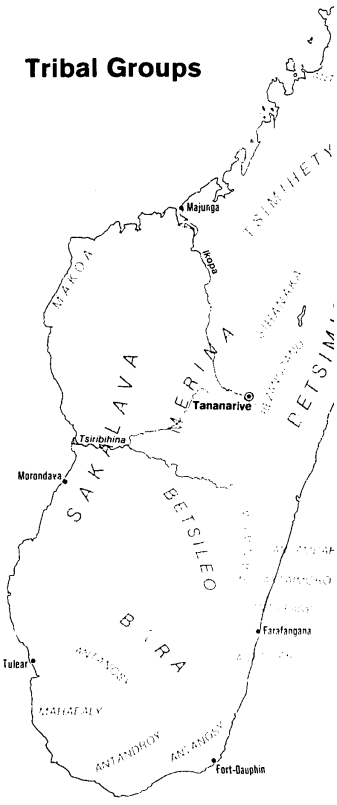


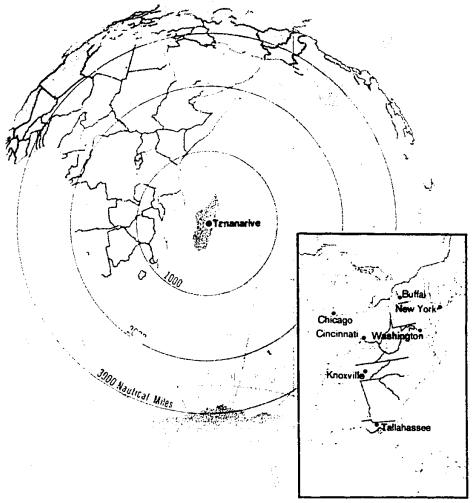
(3)





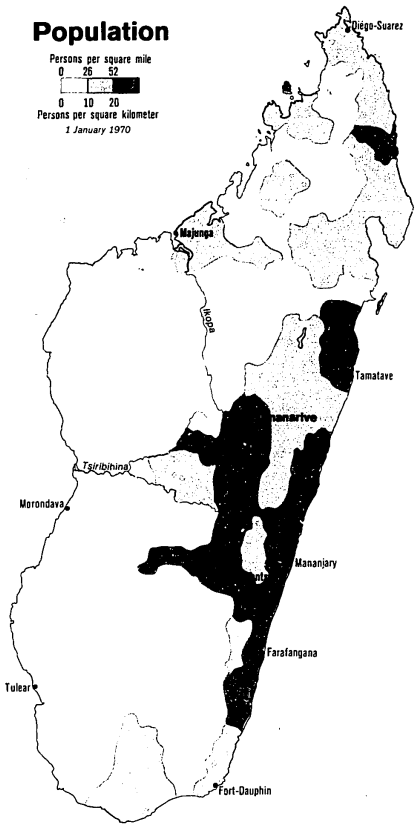
Tribal Groups



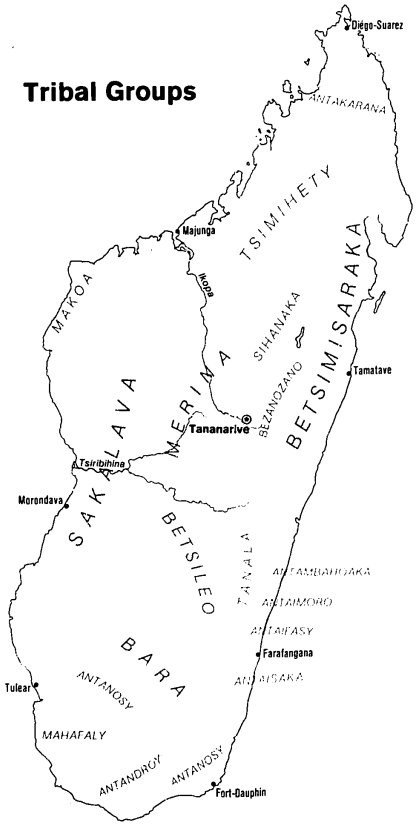


Population

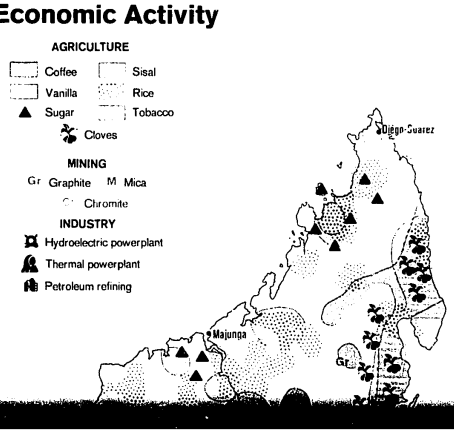
Persons per square mile
0 26 52
0 10 20
Persons per square kilometer
1 January 1970

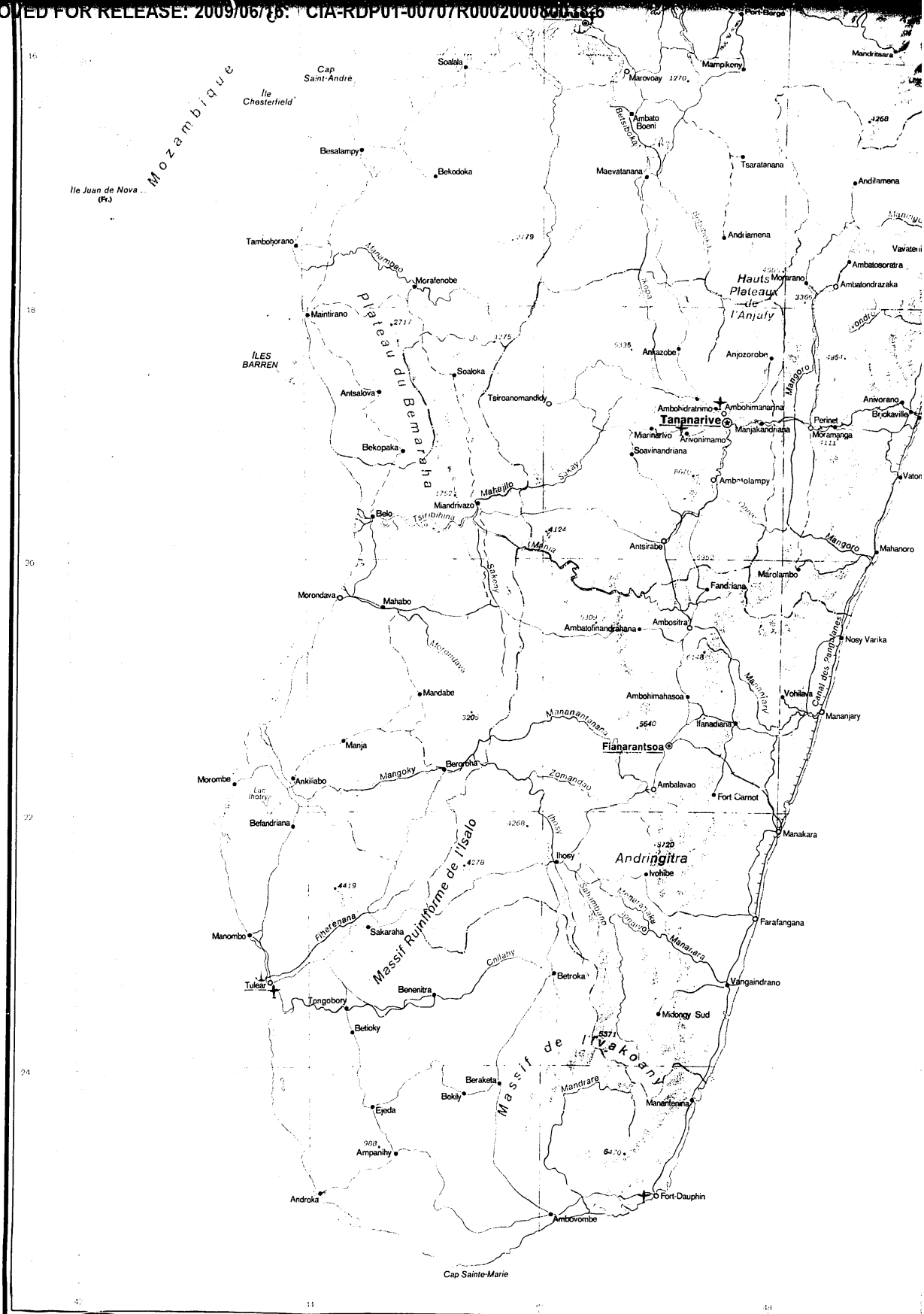


Tribal Groups



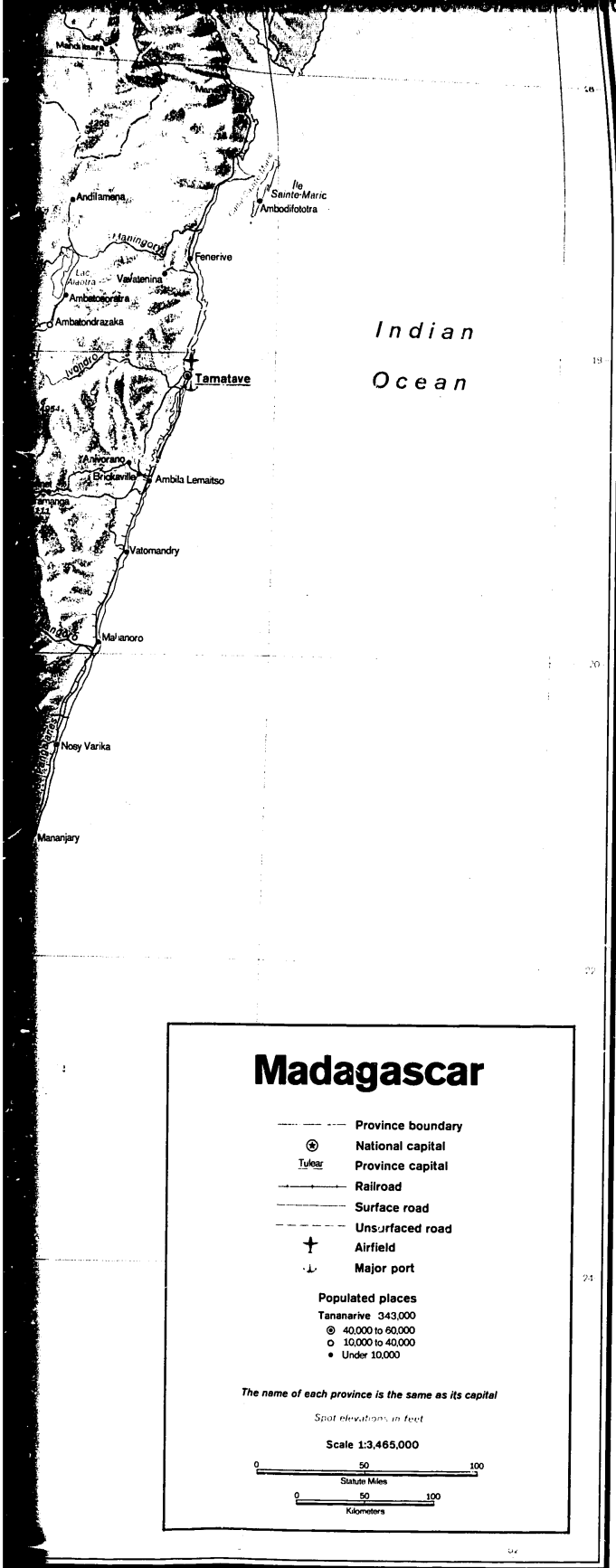
Economic Activity





501245 6-73

Central Intelligence Agency For Official Use Only



Madagascar

- Province boundary
- National capital
- Tulear — Province capital
- Railroad
- Surface road
- Unsurfaced road
- Airfield
- Major port

Populated places

Tananarive 343,000

- 40,000 to 60,000
- 10,000 to 40,000
- Under 10,000

The name of each province is the same as its capital

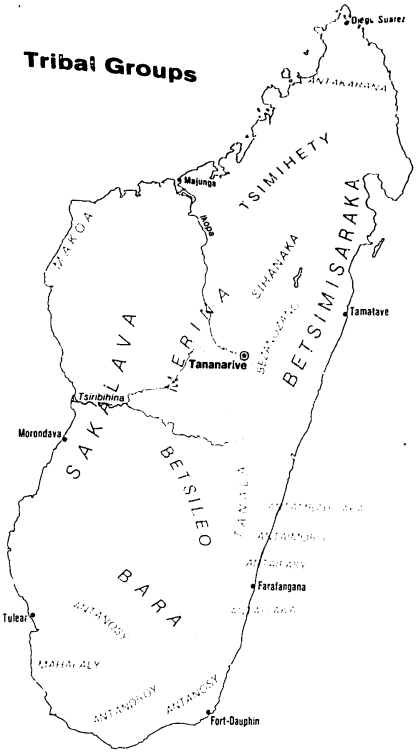
Spot elevations in feet

Scale 1:3,465,000

0 50 100 Statute Miles

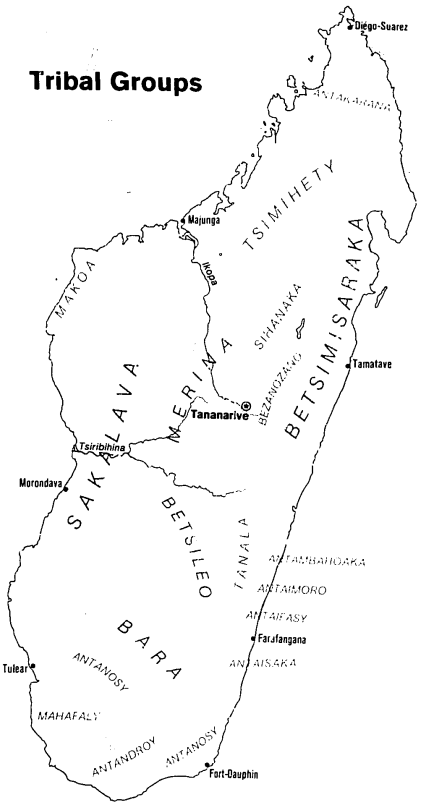
0 50 100 Kilometers

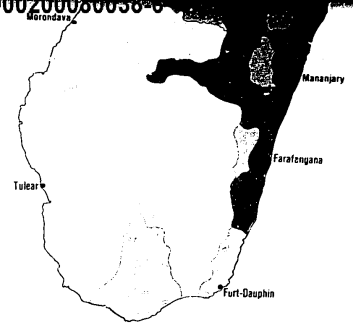
Tribal Groups

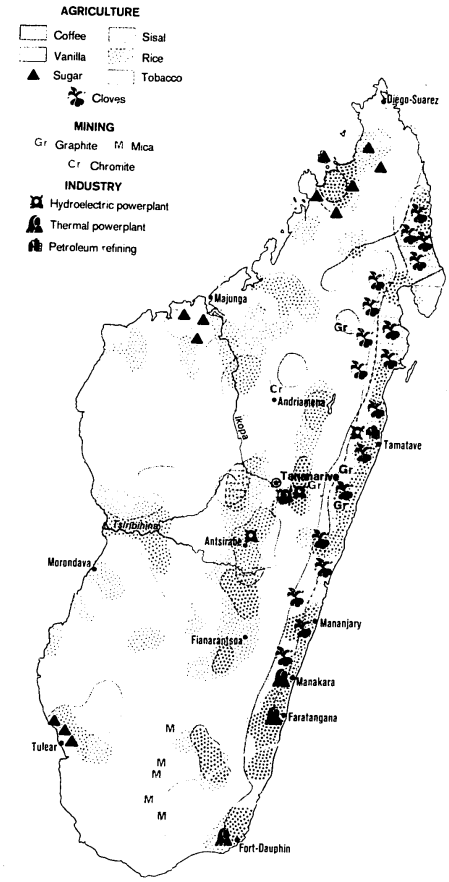


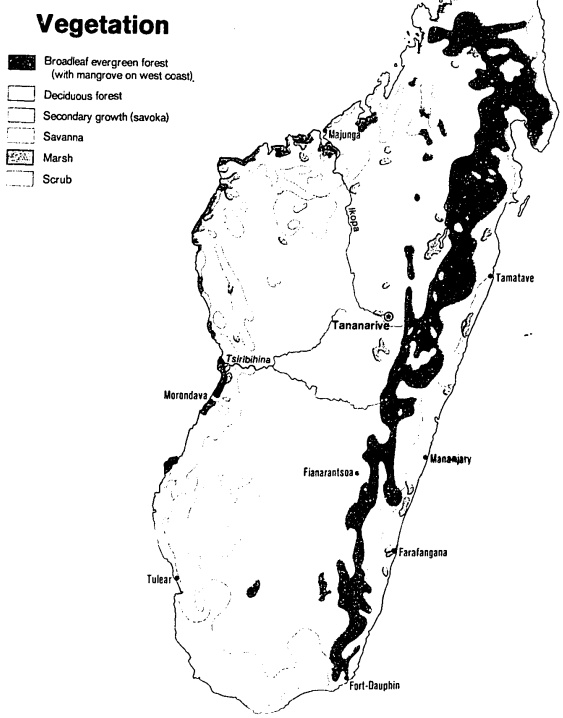
Vegetation

- Broadleaf evergreen forest (with mangrove on west coast)
- Deciduous forest
- Secondary growth (savoka)
- Savanna
- Marsh
- Scrub









Summary Map

(7)